

Address adopted by the Anti-Imperialist League.

FEBRUARY 10, 1899.

The full ratification of the Treaty with Spain will cause a technical change in the relations of the United States to the Philippine Islands, but will afford no reason for any change of the purposes of the Anti-Imperialists in regard to the future of the islands, nor will it in the least affect the clarity of this Republic.

We are now engaged in warfare with the inhabitants of those islands. It is unprofitable to discuss the question as to which party began hostilities. No other result could have been expected, when the lines of two opposing military forces were held so close and in such tense condition that little was needed to cause an explosion.

Certain facts, however, are beyond dispute: that Aguinaldo was brought to the islands by our own warship, that his aid was accepted and desired in our military operations against the Spaniards, and that hopes of independence were encouraged by our consuls and other officers. It is equally indisputable that a parliament of the islands, organized by representatives elected by 186 towns and provinces, chose Aguinaldo President and framed a constitution, which was promulgated, defining the powers and duties of the separate departments of the government with remarkable clearness and ability; that the government so formed beyond a doubt represented fairly the people of the islands and probably with quite as much fairness as the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, in 1775, represented the people of the thirteen States.

It is also undeniable that on January 5 President McKinley issued a proclamation through General Otis, declaring that on the 10th of the previous month the Philippine Islands had been ceded to this country by Spain by the signature of the Treaty of Paris, and further ordered him to extend the military government of the United States "to the whole of the ceded territory," and to demand the surrender of Manila, which was then held by the Filipinos in an orderly manner by capture from the Spaniards.

It cannot be claimed in law that this assumption of power was warranted in advance of the ratification of the Treaty by both parties, and there can be no doubt that the arbitrary claim greatly aggravated the people of the islands, whose hope of independence seemed thus rudely destroyed.

No declaratory resolution as to the future of the islands was assented to by the Administration before the ratification of the Treaty by the Senate, and none has been made since.

Any right that we assert to ownership of the Philippines must rest, therefore, either upon conquest or upon purchase from their Spanish oppressors, or upon both, and in any case it is, as we believe, inconsistent with the principles of this Republic, and fraught with danger to its peace and to the peace of the world.

The first result we already witness, a war of subjugation, which must embitter the people we seek to rule, and which, however successful, must bring disaster and death to our soldiers, and unmeasured cost to our people.

Profoundly impressed with the seriousness of the situation, it is the purpose of the Anti-Imperialists to continue the circulation of literature, to assist in the formation of leagues, and by public meetings, and every proper means known to a free people, to agitate for the revival in the land of the spirit of Washington and Lincoln, to protest against a spirit of militarism and force, to oppose the colonial idea and a permanently large standing army, and to assert the vital truths of the Declaration of Independence embodied in the Constitution and indissolubly connected with the welfare of this Republic.

They urge, therefore, all lovers of freedom, without regard to party associations, to cooperate with them to the following ends:

First. That our government shall take immediate steps towards a suspension of hostilities in the Philippines and a conference with the Philippine leaders, with a view to preventing further bloodshed upon the basis of a recognition of their freedom and independence as soon as proper guarantees can be had of order and protection to property.

Second. That the Congress of the United States shall tender an official assurance to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands that they will encourage and assist in the organization of such a government in the islands as the people thereof shall prefer, and that upon its organization in stable manner the United States, in accordance with its traditional and prescriptive policy in such cases, will recognize the independence of the Philippines and its equality among nations, and gradually withdraw all military and naval forces.



REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE.

FEBRUARY 10, 1899.

The meeting which led to the formation of the Anti-Imperialist League was held on the 18th of November last. Its constitution declares its object: "To oppose by every legitimate means the acquisition of the Philippine Islands, or of any colonies away from our shores, by the United States." A President, Secretary, and Treasurer, with six other persons, act as an Executive Committee having charge of the business of the League. It has a list of eighteen Vice-Presidents.

An address to the people, and a form of petition as follows, were promulgated November 19:

"To the President and Congress of the United States:

"The undersigned protest against any extension of the sovereignty of the United States over the Philippine Islands in any event, and over any other foreign territory without the free consent of the people thereof, believing such action would be dangerous to the Republic, wasteful of its resources, in violation of constitutional principles, and fraught with moral and physical evils to our people."

These petitions have been presented to the Senate by the Hon. George F. Hoar.

Seventeen meetings of the Executive Committee have been held, at all of which a quorum was present.

An inadequate summary of the labors of the committee follows: We have printed and distributed: Address to the People of the United States; a form of petition on sheets and cards; descriptive circular explaining the method of distributing these cards; letter to labor unions; leaflet containing letter by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, Nov. 20, 1898, entitled *Commercial Expansion v. Colonial Expansion*; leaflet with extract from Senator Hoar's speech at Worcester, July 29, 1898; five broadsides containing extracts from various writings and publications favorable to our cause, and two of ministerial utterances, and a pamphlet reproducing these two; four of Governor Boutwell's speeches; letter to the American Conference on International Arbitration; the Hon. George F. Edmunds's letter to the "New York World"; letter to senators urging them to stand firm against the treaty in its original form, and a final appeal made to individual senators; postal-card circular urging individual members of the League to write or telegraph their senators to oppose the treaty; letter of thanks to the twenty-nine senators who were paired or voted against the treaty; circular appeal for funds.

We have been presented with a large number of copies for distribution of various valuable publications and purchased others, as follows: Resolutions and Address at a Faneuil Hall Meeting, June 15, 1898; speech at Lexington Dec. 20, 1898, before the Lexington Historical Society by the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, entitled, *Imperialism and the Tracks of our Forefathers*; pamphlet of Mr. Francis A. Brooks, entitled *Objections to the President's Proposed Subjugation of the Filipinos*; address of the Hon. Carl Schurz at Chicago; the Rev. Henry Van Dyke's Sermon, Thanksgiving Day, 1898, entitled *American Birthright and Philippine Pottage*; address of Dr. Lewis James, at Cambridge, Jan. 12, 1899, entitled *The Short Way with the Filipinos*; Voice of the Farmer, selections from agricultural papers; pamphlet and appendix, *The Hell of War and The Cost of a National Crime*, by Edward Atkinson; speech of the Hon. George F. Hoar, Jan. 9, 1899, *No Constitutional Power to conquer Foreign Nations and hold People in Subjection against their Will*; speech of the Hon. W. E. Mason, Jan. 10, 1899, *As to Government of Foreign Nations without their Consent*; various newspaper and manuscript articles.

The committee has opened offices in Washington and Boston with no expense for rent in either place.

There has been a very large correspondence in connection with the replies to appeals, involving a multitude of responses while sending out literature. Branch or independent organizations have been established in many cities, and the agricultural and labor interests have been thoroughly roused. Having no funds to spend for canvassing, the work has been done by volunteers, often by poor

men using their scanty leisure before and after their hours of labor. In many sections of the country our correspondents report that not ten per cent. of the plain people favor annexation.

A small expense was incurred by the committee in advertisements in some of the newspapers having the largest circulation in the northwest and one or two southern States, inviting correspondence from persons who felt the danger of the impending crisis, and these advertisements led to a very large number of replies. We have supplied speakers for meetings and have in many other ways aroused active interest in the cause.

The Secretary made three visits to Washington: one to wait upon the President and the others to interview Senators and to establish and look after the affairs of the office in Washington.

The League has had no expense save clerk hire, travel, and the cost of postage, stationery, and printing, and its work could not have progressed without a remarkable spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion throughout the land, to the constitutional principles of our country.

The interest in the work shows no signs of flagging. A large number of correspondents have interested themselves in promoting local meetings in various places on the 22d of February to maintain the principles of the organization, in spite of the recent action of the Senate.

The present membership of the Anti-Imperialist League is considerably over 25,000.

As to the future, the committee cannot feel the slightest doubt that it is the duty, and will be the wish, of the League, to continue immediately, aggressively, and persistently the great work in which it has already attained so encouraging a share of success, the work of rousing and educating public opinion in defence of the most sacred fundamental principles of liberty, and in opposition to the un-American and dangerous tendency towards imperialism and militarism.

The committee believes that the preparation and wide distribution of suitable literature is important, and should be steadily pursued.

It believes, too, that the protests against the assumption of sovereignty should be circulated for signatures through the entire country, and when returned sent to the present or the next Congress.

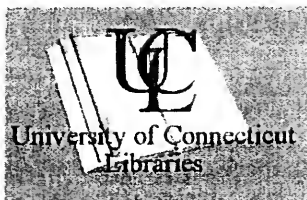
It believes that the effort to secure the formation of branch or independent Leagues in other States should be continued, and that especially every effort should be made to strengthen the Anti-Imperialist position of labor and agricultural unions and organizations.

ERVING WINSLOW,
Secretary.

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